

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 156136
ORIGIN SP-02

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ISO-00 SS-15 SSO-00 ONY-00 /028 R

DRAFTED BY S/P:MRLINO
APPROVED BY S/P:PHKREISBERG
AF:BSALTER (PHONE)
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AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 156136

COPENHAGEN FOR S/P DIRECTOR LAKE

E.O. 11652:N/A

TAGS:OGEN

SUBJECT:WASHINGTON POST AND NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLES

1. WASHINGTON POST JUNE 20 COVERED TWO-THIRDS OF TOP HALF OF
FRONT PAGE WITH OBERDORFER ARTICLE ON TESTIMONY ACCOMPANIED
BY LARGE PICTURE (FIVE AND HALF INCHES BY NINE AND HALF
INCHES) OF A PENSIVE MR. VANCE. HEADLINE: VANCE PRESENTS
A "POSITIVE" US FOREIGN POLICY.

2. TEXT OF ARTICLE:

--SECRETARY OF STATE CYRUS R. VANCE PRESENTED HIS VERSION
OF A "POSITIVE" AND "CONSTRUCTIVE" US FOREIGN POLICY TO
THE HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE YESTERDAY, AND
SAID THAT HE WAS SPEAKING FOR PRESIDENT CARTER.
--SEVERAL MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE, HOWEVER, SAID THEY FOUND
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IT HARD TO SQUARE VANCE'S RENDITION WITH TOUGH ANTI-SOVIET
DECLARATIONS BY PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI
AS WELL AS SOME RECENT STATEMENTS BY CARTER.

--IN A TEN PAGE WRITTEN STATEMENT AND NEARLY TWO HOURS OF
PUBLIC TESTIMONY, VANCE SOUGHT TO DISPEL UNCERTAINTY AND
APPREHENSION ABOUT US-SOVIET RELATIONS AND AFRICA POLICY
WHILE CONCEDING THAT LAST WEEKEND'S COMPREHENSIVE AND
HIGHLY UNUSUAL SOVIET DENUNCIATION OF US POLICY CONTAINED
"SOME VERY TOUGH WORDS," VANCE SAID THAT "THE DOOR WAS

CLEARLY LEFT OPEN TO CONTINUE TO PURSUE COOPERATIVE MEASURES" AND EXPRESSED BELIEF THAT THE RUSSIANS - AS WELL AS THE UNITED STATES - WISH TO SEEK ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS AND DETENTE.

--VANCE PROMISED A MORE EXTENSIVE US RESPONSE IN A FEW DAYS TO THE LENGTHY SOVIET DOCUMENT. "I WOULD ONLY SAY AT THIS TIME THAT THE MOST CONTRUCTIVE COURSE FOR BOTH COUNTRIES AS WE MOVE AHEAD WOULD BE TO CONCENTRATE ON THE CONCRETE ACTIONS WE BOTH CAN TAKE TO REDUCE TENSIONS AND TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THE CRITICAL ISSUES NOW UNDER NEGOTIATION."

--REP. DANTE FASCELL (D-FLA.), ONE OF THE MOVING FORCES BEHIND THE RECENT LETTER FROM THE HOUSE COMMITTEE TO CARTER COMPLAINING OF "CONFUSION AND DOUBT" ABOUT US FOREIGN POLICY, EXPRESSED THE BELIEF THAT THE ADMINISTRATION TRIED TO LAUNCH A MAJOR CHANGE IN INTERNATIONAL STRATEGY WITHOUT PRIOR CONSULTATION WITH CONGRESS. MENTIONING WHITE HOUSE NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR BRZEZINSKI, FASCELL TOLD VANCE THAT DISCORDANT SIGNALS FROM THE GOVERNMENT RAISED QUESTIONS OF "WHO'S GOT THE PRESIDENT'S RIGHT EAR?" AND ARE WE GOING TOWARD A HEIGHTENED COLD WAR RHETORIC?"

-- AS HE SEES IT, FASCELL DECLARED "BRZEZINSKI USED A TWO-BY-FOUR (ON THE RUSSIANS,) PRESIDENT SAID 'NOT THAT HARD, JUST HARD ENOUGH TO LET THEM KNOW WE'RE ALIVE,'" UNCLASSIFIED

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AND THE SECRETARY OF STATE SAID, "WE ARE CONDUCTING OUR NORMAL PROGRAMS."

--VANCE REPLIED THAT HE HAD BEEN DESIGNATED TO MAKE THE POLICY CLEAR. HE PUT THE BLAME FOR RISING TENSIONS ON DEVELOPING CIRCUMSTANCES, SAYING THAT " OVER THE LAST SEVERAL WEEKS THERE HAVE BEEN A NUMBER OF EVENTS IN AFRICA WHICH HAVE FOCUSED ATTENTION AND CAUSED CONCERN ABOUT WHAT ARE CUBAN AND SOVIET INTENTIONS." HE ADDED IN CAUTIOUS AND LAWYERLIKE FASHION THAT EACH SITUATION HAS TO BE ANALYSED ON ITS OWN, CASE BY CASE.

-- THE BEST COURSE OF ACTION, VANCE DECLARED, IS "A POSITIVE COURSE" WHICH COULD RESULT IN DECISIONS BY VARIOUS AFRICAN NATIONS ON THEIR OWN TO ASK CUBA AND THE SOVIET UNION TO WITHDRAW AND WHICH COULD CREATE CIRCUMSTANCES MAKING THE PRESENCE OF OUTSIDERS NO LONGER JUSTIFIABLE.

--VANCE PASSEDDUP A NUMBER OF OPPORTUNITIES TO COMMENT ON BRZEZINSKI IN RESPONSE TO CONGRESSIONAL REMARKS, INCLUDING THE STATEMENT BY REP. DON BONKER (D-WASH.) THAT "I'D FEEL A LOT BETTER IF THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND NOT THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL HAD THE PREVAILING VOICE IN FOREIGN POLICY DECISIONS." IN AN ALLUSION TO THE HOUSE COMMITTEE'S REQUEST TO CARTER FOR AN APPEARANCE BY VANCE "OR WHOEVER YOU DETERMINE IS BEST ABLE" TO EXPLAIN RECENT DEVELOPMENTS, VANCE STATED THAT "I SPEAK FOR THE PRESIDENT AS WELL AS MYSELF."

--VANCE'S STATEMENT WAS TO SOME EXTENT HIS COUNTERPART OF THE JUNE 7 CARTER SPEECH AT THE US NAVAL ACADEMY, PENNED

BY THE PRESIDENT HIMSELF DURING A CAMP DAVID WEEKEND AND CLEARED WITHOUT MUCH CHANGE BY HIS SENIOR ADVISORS. VANCE BEGAN WRITING HIS STATEMENT TO THE COMMITTEE DURING A LONG TRIP HOME FROM LONDON SATURDAY AND SENT THE LAST OF SEVERAL DRAFTS TO CARTER AT THE WHITE HOUSE SUNDAY AFTERNOON. CARTER "MADE A FEW CHANGES AND AGREES WITH IT COMPLETELY," SAID VANCE.

--ALTHOUGH VANCE'S STATEMENT REFERRED SEVERAL TIMES TO CARTER'S ANNAPOLIS ADDRESS AS A TOUCHSTONE OF POLICY, THE UNCLASSIFIED

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DIFFERENCES IN STRESS AND TONE BETWEEN THE TWO DOCUMENTS WAS NOTABLE. VANCE DID NOT REPEAT CARTER'S MUCH HEADLINED CHALLENGE TO THE SOVIET LEADERS TO CHOOSE "EITHER CONFRONTATION OR COOPERATION," BUT SAID IN MUTED TERMS THAT "BOTH SIDES WILL CONTINUOUSLY BE MAKING CHOICES BETWEEN AN EMPHASIS ON THE DIVERGENT ELEMENTS OF OUR RELATIONSHIP, AND AN EMPHASIS ON THE COOPERATIVE ONES." VANCE SAID THAT CARTER HAD "MADE CLEAR" AT ANNAPOLIS THAT THE US PREFERS TO BROADEN THE AREAS OF COOPERATION.

-- THE SECRETARY OF STATE MADE NO MENTION OF BRZEZINSKI'S STATEMENTS THAT SOVIET-CUBAN ACTIVITIES IN AFRICA COULD IMPERIL STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATION TALKS, NOR CARTER'S MORE RESTRICTED STATEMENT THAT TENSIONS BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS COULD COMPLICATE THE RATIFICATION PROCESS FOR A SALT AGREEMENT.

--"WHEN WE REACH AN AGREEMENT THAT MAINTAINS AND ENHANCES OUR SECURITY AND THAT OF OUR ALLIES, AND IS ADEQUATELY VERIFIABLE, WE WILL SIGN IT," VANCE SAID SIMPLY. ASKED TO CONFIRM ABSOLUTELY THAT THERE IS NO "LINKAGE" BETWEEN AFRICA POLICY AND SALT NEGOTIATIONS, VANCE RESPONDED "THAT IS CORRECT."

3. NEW YORK TIMES JUNE 20 DEVOTED ONE COLUMN TO VANCE TESTIMONY. HEADLINE FOR GWERTZMAN ARTICLE: VANCE URGES EFFORT BY US AND RUSSIANS TO REDUCE TENSIONS. SUBHEADLINE: ASSERTS CARTER BACKS VIEW. SUB-SUBHEADLINE: QUERIED BY HOUSE UNIT ON POLICIES, HE USES SOFTER LANGUAGE THAN PRESIDENT OR BRZEZINSKI.

4. TEXT OF ARTICLE: SECRETARY OF STATE CYRUS R. VANCE SAID TODAY THAT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION WOULD "BEND OUR EFFORTS" TO EXPAND COOPERATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION. HE URGED THAT BOTH WASHINGTON AND MOSCOW PUT POLEMICS ASIDE UNCLASSIFIED

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AND "CONCENTRATE ON THE CONCRETE ACTIONS WE BOTH TAKE TO REDUCE TENSIONS AND TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THE CRITICAL ISSUES NOW UNDER NEGOTIATION."

--HE APPEARED BEFORE THE HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE AFTER 14 OF ITS MEMBERS HAD COMPLAINED TO PRESIDENT CARTER THAT THEY WERE UNCERTAIN OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S POLICIES TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION AND TOWARD AFRICA IN LIGHT OF THE APPARENT DIFFERENCES IN APPROACH VOICED BY MR. VANCE, ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI, THE PRESIDENT'S NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER, AND MR. CARTER HIMSELF.

--MR. VANCE REPEATED THAT THE ADMINISTRATION WAS UNHAPPY OVER THE SOVIET AND CUBAN MILITARY PRESENCE IN AFRICA AND OVER SOVIET HUMAN RIGHTS POLICIES, BUT HIS REMARKS WERE COUCHED IN LESS ACERBIC LANGUAGE THAN EITHER MR. CARTER OR MR. BRZEZINSKI HAS USED RECENTLY.

--(SUBHEADING: EFFORT TO EASE CONCERN SEEN) THE SUM OF TODAY'S REMARKS SEEMED TO INDICATE THAT MR. CARTER, WHOSE RECENT EFFORTS HAVE BEEN AIMED AT ASSURING CONSERVATIVES THAT THE UNITED STATES WAS NOT BUCKLING TO PRESSURE IN ITS RELATIONS WITH THE RUSSIANS, WAS NOW TRYING THROUGH MR. VANCE TO EASE THE CONCERN OF OTHERS THAT THE TWO COUNTRIES SEEMED ON A COLD WAR COURSE.

--MR. VANCE ALL ALONG HAS AVOIDED THE TOUGH LANGUAGE OF MR. BRZEZINSKI. HIS PERFORMANCE TODAY SEEMS SURE TO LEAD TO SPECULATION--AS VOICED BY MANY COMMITTEE MEMBERS-- THAT THE PENDULUM HAS SWUNG BACK TOWARD MR. VANCE'S APPROACH.

-- UNDER SHARP QUESTIONING FROM COMMITTEE MEMBERS, MR. VANCE SEEMED MORE FORCEFUL THAN USUAL IN ASSERTING THAT HE SPOKE WITH THE FULL AUTHORITY OF MR. CARTER AND THAT THE ADMINISTRATION WAS DETERMINED TO AVOID EAST-WEST CONFRONTATION IN AFRICA AND TO PRESS FOR AGREEMENTS WITH MOSCOW IN THE NEGOTIATIONS ON A TREATY TO LIMIT STRATEGIC ARMS AND ON A COMPREHENSIVE NUCLEAR TEST BAN.

--(SUBHEADING: NEEDLESS WORSENING OF TIES SEEN) ON UNCLASSIFIED

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SPECIFIC ISSUES, MR. VANCE SAID THE CONTROVERSIAL QUESTION OF CUBAN INVOLVEMENT IN THE RECENT FIGHTING IN SOUTHERN ZAIRE HAD BEEN "BLOWN OUT OF ALL PROPORTION." HE ALSO SEEMED TO TAKE ISSUE WITH THE BITTER COMMENTS OF MR. BRZEZINSKI AND MR. CARTER ABOUT SOVIET BEHAVIOR BY WARNING THAT ALTHOUGH THERE WOULD ALWAYS BE STRAINS IN RELATIONS, "ONE SHOULD BE CAREFUL IN TERMS OF RHETORIC ONE USES BECAUSE I THINK IT IS VERY EASY TO SLIP INTO RHETORIC THAT MAY BE EXCESSIVE AND MAY LEAD TO WHAT PEOPLE CALL THE COLD WAR."

--MR. VANCE HAD BEEN WORRIED, ACCORDING TO HIS AIDES, THAT SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS WERE BEING WORSENERED UNNECESSARILY BY WHAT HE REGARDED AS GRATUITOUS ATTACKS ON BOTH SIDES. ALTHOUGH HE PERSONALLY SUPPORTED THE SUBSTANTIVE POINTS IN MR. CARTER'S SPEECH AT ANNAPOLIS JUNE 7 ON SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS, HE HAD NO HAND IN

PREPARING THE LANGUAGE THAT OFFERED MOSCOW THE CHOICE OF

EITHER "CONFRONTATION OR COOPERATION."

--THE AMBIGUITY IN THAT SPEECH, AND THE APPARENT VACILLATION OF THE ADMINISTRATION BETWEEN MR. BRZEZINSKI'S COMPLAINTS ABOUT MOSCOW'S VIOLATING OF THE "CODE OF DETENTE" AND MR. VANCE'S MORE RESTRAINED APPROACH, PUTTING THE EMPHASIS ON SPECIFIC NEGOTIATIONS, HAS SOWN CONSIDERABLE CONFUSION.

--THE COMMITTEE, AFTER TWO HOURS OF TESTIMONY BY MR. VANCE, DID NOT SEEM COMPLETELY SATISFIED, BUT THE CHAIRMAN, CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI, DEMOCRAT OF WISCONSIN, SAID THAT IT WAS ONE OF THE BEST SESSION HE HAD EVER HAD IN 30 YEARS IN CONGRESS.

--SEVERAL CONGRESSMEN SUGGESTED TO MR. VANCE THAT HE HAD BEEN SENT BY THE PRESIDENT "TO SOOTHE" THEM AND THAT MR. BRZEZINSKI SHOULD ALSO BE CALLED TO TESTIFY AND UNCLASSIFIED

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DEFEND HIS TOUGHER LINE. MR. BRZEZINSKI, AS A WHITE HOUSE AIDE, IS NOT SUBJECT TO ROUTINE CONGRESSIONAL EXAMINATION AS IS MR. VANCE.

--BUT MR. VANCE SEEMED IRKED AT ANY SUGGESTION THAT HE WAS NOT SPEAKING WITH THE FULL AUTHORITY OF THE PRESIDENT. HE SAID THAT HIS OPENING STATEMENT, IN WHICH HE INTERPRETED THE ANNAPOLIS SPEECH IN MODERATE TERMS, HAD BEEN WRITTEN BY HIM PERSONALLY AND SHOWN TO MR. CARTER, WHO HAD MADE SOME CHANGES AND GIVEN HIS APPROVAL TO IT.

--(SUBHEADING: PRAVDA COMMENTARY NOTED) IN THAT STATEMENT, MR. VANCE TOOK NOTE OF A LONG COMMENTARY PUBLISHED SATURDAY IN PRAVDA, THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY NEWSPAPER, THAT WAS ISSUED AS A RESPONSE TO MR. CARTER'S ANNAPOLIS SPEECH.

--MR. VANCE SAID THAT "THE MOST CONSTRUCTIVE COURSE FOR BOTH COUNTRIES AS WE MOVE AHEAD WOULD BE TO CONCENTRATE ON THE CONCRETE ACTIONS WE BOTH CAN TAKE TO REDUCE TENSIONS AND TO REACH AGREEMENT ON THE CRITICAL ISSUES NOW UNDER NEGOTIATION."

--AMPLIFYING HIS COMMENTS UNDER QUESTIONING BY REPRESENTATIVE J. HERBERT BURKE, REPUBLICAN OF FLORIDA, MR. VANCE SAID THAT THE PRAVDA COMMENTARY CONTAINED "SOME VERY HARSH WORDS" BUT THAT IT INDICATED THAT THE RUSSIANS "CONTINUE TO DESIRE TO PURSUE THE PATH OF SEEKING AGREEMENTS AND TO PURSUE DETENTE."

--"I THINK THAT DESPITE SOME TOUGH WORDS, THE DOOR WAS CLEARLY LEFT OPEN TO CONTINUE TO PURSUE THESE KIND OF COOPERATIVE MEASURES." HE SAID.

--IN HIS STATEMENT, MR. VANCE--WHO IS TO SPEAK ON AFRICA TOMORROW--SOUGHT TO EASE CONCERNS ON AFRICA POLICY.

--HE SAID THAT ALTHOUGH THE PRESENCE OF SOVIET ARMS AND CUBAN TROOPS IN AFRICA "RAISES SERIOUS CONCERNS," THE

AMERICAN POLICY IN THAT CONTINENT "IS BASED UPON AN AFFIRMATIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE APPROACH TO AFRICAN ISSUES--HELPING

AFRICAN NATIONS MEET THEIR PRESSING HUMAN AND ECONOMIC
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NEEDS, STRENGTHENING THEIR ABILITY TO DEFEND THEMSELVES,
BUILDING CLOSER TIES THROUGHOUT AFRICA AND ASSISTING AFRICAN
NATIONS TO RESOLVE THEIR CONFLICTS PEACEFULLY."

--"LET ME EMPHASIZE THE ESSENTIAL POINT THAT THE BASIS FOR
OUR POSITION IN AFRICA--A POSITION WHICH IS STRONG AND
GROWING STRONGER--IS THE AFRICAN PERCEPTION THAT WE SEE
THEM AND THEIR PROBLEMS IN THEIR OWN TERMS, AND NOT AS AN
ARENA FOR EAST-WEST DIFFERENCES," HE SAID.

--AS TO THE RECENT CONCERN OVER THE PRESENCE OF CUBANS IN
AFRICA, MR. VANCE SAID HE AGREED WITH THE PRESIDENT'S
ASSESSMENT THAT THE CUBANS HAD PLAYED A ROLE IN TRAINING
KATANGAN REBELS FOR THE INVASION OF ZAIRE'S SOUTHERN SHABA
PROVINCE FROM ANGOLA LAST MONTH, BUT HE PLACED THE BLAME ON
THE PRESS AND BROADCASTERS FOR WHAT HE CALLED THE "OVER-
BLOWN" CONCERN.

--THE INTEREST OF THE PRESS IN THE QUESTION AROSE BECAUSE
OF ACCUSATIONS MADE BY MR. CARTER AND OTHER SPOKESMEN
HOLDING THE CUBANS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE INVASION.

--(SUBHEADING: AIRLIFT TERMED A RESCUE OPERATION) MR. VANCE
ALSO SAID THAT THE AMERICAN PARTICIPATION IN THE AIRLIFT OF
TROOPS AND EQUIPMENT TO ZAIRE HAD BEEN STRICTLY TO HELP
RESCUE "BLACKS AND WHITES" IN KOLWEZI, SHABA PROVINCE'S
MAIN MINING CENTER, AND TO PROVIDE SECURITY SO THAT THE
COUNTRY'S ECONOMY COULD MOVE AHEAD. WHITE HOUSE OFFICIALS
HAVE DESCRIBED THAT AIRLIFT AS A RESPONSE TO THE CUBANS.

--IN HIS PRESENTATION, MR. VANCE DID NOT AVOID ANY OF THE
MAIN POINTS MADE BY MR. CARTER IN HIS ANNAPOLIS SPEECH,
BUT HE PHRASED THEM IN WAYS THAT WERE LESS HARSH.

--FOR INSTANCE, INSTEAD OF PUTTING TO THE RUSSIANS THE
CHOICE OF "CONFRONTATION OR COOPERATION" AS MR. CARTER DID,
SECRETARY VANCE SAID: "AS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO
NATIONS CONTINUES TO EVOLVE BOTH SIDES WILL CONTINUOUSLY
BY MAKING CHOICES BETWEEN AN EMPHASIS ON THE DIVERGENT
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ELEMENTS OF OUR RELATIONSHIP, AND AN EMPHASIS ON THE COOPER-
ATIVE ONES."

--(SUBHEADING: COOPERATION IS HELD CHIEF U.S. AIM) "THE
PRESIDENT MADE CLEAR AT ANNAPOLIS THAT OUR PREFERENCE IS
TO BROADEN THE AREAS OF COOPERATION," HE SAID.

--WHEN ASKED BY REPRESENTATIVE LEE H. HAMILTON, DEMOCRAT
OF INDIANA, WHETHER THE PRESIDENT ACTUALLY WAS AS DETER-
MINED TO PURSUE COOPERATION AS MR. VANCE HAD IMPLIED, THE
SECRETARY REPLIED:

--"I'M HERE TO REAFFIRM TODAY THAT OUR UNDERLYING POLICY
IS AS I OUTLINED TO YOU TODAY AND IS CONTAINED MOST

RECENTLY IN THE PRESIDENT'S ANNAPOLIS SPEECH. AS THE
PRESIDENT INDICATED AND I INDICATED AGAIN TODAY, WE SEEK
TO EXPAND THE AREAS OF COOPERATION AND WE ARE GOING TO
BEND OUR EFFORTS TO THAT END. WE HOPE WE ARE GOING TO
FIND RECIPROCAL ACTION ON THE OTHER SIDE. THIS IS A TWO-
WAY STREET. IT IS CLEAR WHERE WE STAND. WE DO WANT TO
SEE COOPERATION. WE DO WANT TO SEE TENSIONS LESSEN. AND
WE WANT TO MAKE IT VERY CLEAR THAT THAT IS OUR POLICY, OUR
HOPE AND OUR DESIRE." CHRISTOPHER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 26 sep 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 20 jun 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 jan 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE156136
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: S/P:MRLINO
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: D780257-0101
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t197806115/baaaeyzp.tel
Line Count: 337
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 51314f7e-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN SP
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 19 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2177767
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: WASHINGTON POST AND NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLES
TAGS: OGEN
To: ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS COPENHAGEN
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/51314f7e-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014